175 colonists on the Tapirapé River in the eighteenth century. [Ed., the remainder of the paragraph is omitted.]

113 Numerous nineteenth century authors refer to the Tapirapé. 175 I have already mentioned what Silva e Sousa said in 1812, Pizarro e Araujo in 1822, Cunha Mattos in 1824, Eschwege in 1830, Ayres de Cazal in 1833, Milliet de Saint-Adolphe in 1845, Monteiro Baena in 1847, Saint-Hilaire in 1848, and Alêncastre in 1864. There is also the following reference, the Roteiro da viagem que fez o capitão Francisco de Paula Ribeiro às fronteiras da capitania do Maranhão e da de Goyaz no anno de 1815 [Itinerary of the journey made by Captain Francisco de Paula Ribeiro to the boundaries of the province of Maranhão and of Goiás in the year 1815], in which the Tapirapé are mentioned (37) as one of the "barbarous and intractable nations" who inhabit the "basin of the Tocantins."

Concerning two maps of the period, Kissenberth writes (2, 175 41): "The map of Brazil by C.F. Klöden, which appeared in 1817, mentions the Indians Tapirapeques north of a tributary of the Araguaia, which corresponds to the present-day Tapirapé River. A. Brué's 1826 map also mentions Tapirapeques north of the tributary of the Araguaia which is now called the Farto River. This map shows a Tapirapé River north of Bananal Island, approximately below the ninth degree. Tapirapé Indian dwellings are to be found south of this left tributary of the Araguaia."

On Table 28 of Balbi's Atlas ethnographique [Ethnographic 114 Atlas] (Paris, 1826), in which Ferdinand Denis deals with "Langues 174 de la région Guarani-Brésileinne [Languages of the Guarani region of Brazil]" and which reveals the state of progress of Brazilian ethnography in the first half of the last century, Tapirapé is not listed in the "Guarani Family" which includes the "East-Guarani [99:67] or Brazilian, also called Tupi and Lingoa-Geral." We read only that there is a "Tappiraques [spoken] by the Tappiraques or Tappirapes. In the province of Mato Grosso they occupy a large part of the Tappiraquia district, to which they have lent their name and where they are found in greater numbers than any other savage group" [translated from French]. The Tapirapé language is missing from the vocabularies of Table 41 ("Tableau polyglotte des langues américaines [Polyglot Table of American Languages]") in the same atlas. Actually, the fact that Tapirapé was not included

1: Baldus--24 E-5 (1935, 1947) 1944-1949 SP22 Tapirapé SP22

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towards him. But even such an assumption is more than doubtful. I lend no importance whatever to that rumor."

This explanation once accepted, Fritz Krause himself becomes, to our knowledge, the first White who made a systematic attempt to contact the Tupí tribe in the twentieth century. In August and September, 1908, he ascended the Tapirapé River with great difficulty to its last navigable stretch, and then traveled over the area lying to the north of its upper course. He found footprints on the sand, dams in the water, barbecues in the forest, and the remnants of summer dwellings on the savanna.

In April of the following year, Wilhelm Kissenberth, another German ethnographer, was even less successful. He gave up on the second day of his journey up the Tapirapé River, having reached the conclusion that "the only practical access to the Tapirapé villages is by land, since the inherent difficulties of an ascent of the Tapirapé River must be the same in the dry season as they are at flood time" (Kissenberth 1, 4).

Finally, in the course of an expedition in search of rubber trees that was carried out in 1911, a few men from Ceará, led by their countrymen Alfredo Olimpio de Oliveira, after having gone up the Tapirapé River and crossed the savanna, met the Tapirapé Indians and lived with them for a while in their villages. The first information about this was given to me by Colonel João Crisóstimo de Oliveira, a brother of Mr. Alfredo. Later, when I was in Tampitáua, the Indian Kamairabó [99:73] frequently recalled with praise Mr. Alfredo and his companions. Actually, this journey of the Ceará men was described by Angione Costa (221-224), who published an article about it in July 29, 1912, in the [113] Folha do Norte [a newspaper] of Belém, Pará. In addition, the following passage appears in the report on the Dominican expedition of 1914 called "Entre os Tapirapés [Among the Tapirapé]" and published in the Mensageiro do Santo Rosario (316-317): "In 1911, a group of rubber gatherers thought that the banks of the waterway (H.B. [author]: the Tapirapé River) would be rich in rubber. The leader of the expedition was one Mr. Alfredo. The starting point was Conceição. The explorations lasted for several months, from May to November. Instead of rubber, they discovered Indian villages, the three villages of the Tapirapé. It

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175 was the first time that these savages had seen civilized people, or, to use the popular term, Christians. It was God's will that savages and Christians should fraternize. Alfredo became a friend of the Tapirapé and brought to Conceição a group consisting of an elderly woman, her granddaughter of 11 or 12, and a few men. During the trip the men ran away. The girl was provided with clothes when she reached the mission."

[13] On October 9, 1912, the Rio newspaper O Paiz transcribed from the fortnightly Goiás paper O Estado de Goyaz of September 15 of the same year an article entitled "Proteção aos Indios [Indian Protection Service]," according to which Dr. Francisco Mandacarú had visited a Tapirapé village located six and three-quarters leagues from the river of the same name and had returned "a Tapirapé woman and her son of 12" whom he had "rescued" in Conceição, where they were "enslaved" (Kissenberth 2, 36, 43). They were probably the grandmother and granddaughter brought by Mr. Alfredo and mentioned in the report of the Dominicans quoted above.

Speaking of the tribes of the Araguaia, Glass (139) says that in 1913, "the Government Inspector of the Indians of this region [161] ascended the Tapirapé River and discovered about 1000 or 1500 [648] of this tribe still existing, but living forty miles away from the river for fear of the Carajás. He estimates that the Carajás, Tapirapés, Javahés, Cherentes [Sherente], Chavantes, and one or two other tribes around that district, number over 20,000 Indians" [cited in English].

In June, 1914, the French Dominicans, Domingos Carrerot, Sebastião Thomas, and Francisco Bigorre, visited the Tapirapé village located 50 kilometers from the river. They were led by the Indian Valadar, the son of a Karajá father and a Tapirapé mother. This guide had participated in Mr. Alfredo's expedition.

Ten years later, according to the Mensageiro do Santo [113] Rosario of April, 1934, page 207, the "regular catechization" of 797 the [99:74] Tapirapé by the Dominicans had a "definitive start." 175 That means that the Fathers of Conceição do Araguaia have ascended the Tapirapé River to the port of São Domingos every two years or so since 1924, awaiting there the arrival of the Indians, alerted to their presence by the smoke rising from burned grassland. Sometimes they proceed on foot to the summer dwellings

apparently was aggravated by pneumonia. During the rainy season that followed, this epidemic caused great mortality throughout the tribe, also killing Ikaranchó and his wife. Then the separatists returned to Tamplitíua.

The eighteenth century map reproduced in this work points out with three triangles the "Aldeas do Gentio Tapirapé [villages of the Tapirapé people]." In his account of Alfredo Olimpio de Oliveira's 1911 expedition, Angyone Costa (222-223) writes as follows about the Tapirapé of the time: "These Indians occupy three villages, the first one located two days' journey from the riverbank, the second one three days' away. The explorer did not visit the third one."

The following appears in the account of the Dominican expedition of 1914 printed in the Mensageiro do Santo Rosário (317): "The Tapirapé form three groups, or rather three malocas [villages], five days' journey apart. The Indians can walk 50 kilometers a day. This shows how huge is the region inhabited by such a relatively sparse tribe. The village we visited had 16 huts, each one sheltering several families. It is true that when the Fathers drew near, some of the huts were emptied, and families, urged on by a suspicious chief, ran to hide in the forest. The people we found did not exceed 160 souls, and from this it may easily be inferred that the tribe does not include more than about a thousand members."

[103:186] The note published in 1912 about Dr. Francisco Mandacaró's journey states that the Tapirapé village visited by this explorer contained 268 inhabitants and that "almost invariably, a village merely consists of a single and numerous family." The number of villages, however, is not mentioned (cf. Kissenberth 2, 43-44).

The same applies to the account of the trip by the inspector of the Indians, mentioned earlier, which only states that "some 1,000 or 1,500" Tapirapé were found (Glass, 139).

Reverend Kegel told me that in August of 1932 he found in Tamplitíua some 14 houses with slightly more than 220 occupants. These people, as we have already mentioned, split up in September, but were together again when we visited them the following year. From 50 to 60 of them died during the 1932-1933 rainy season, and only three or four children born at that time were seen by this missionary.

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Araguay and Tocantins, were in the habit of swimming across the Furo during the dry season and plundering the plantings of the Karajá. They needed only to blow the trumpets, and already the Karajá fled. As a result, the latter did not dare visit their plantings and hence suffered from lack of food. Fonseca, when the Chavánte had again broken into the plantings, undertook an expedition against them and surprised them; they fled, leaving behind their weapons and their plunder. The Karajá had held back in cowardly fashion, but now boasted about being the victors. This was the first time that the Chavánte had fled before them; until then, the opposite had always occurred. -- And it seems to be so still today.

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About the Cherénte (ĭnŏlōtŭ) I was able to obtain only the not very credible information that they eat the excrement of human beings, even their own, putting it into their mouths with a brush-like stick that has been beaten flat. Perhaps this is merely a story that has arisen from the hostility and conceit of the Karajá.

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/342/ The Canoeiros (tĭšbĕzĕ) (1) live on the east shore,

1. According to Cunha Mattos, the Canoeiros are the descendants of the Carijos, who were brought along from São Paulo as auxiliary troops and workmen by the discoverer of Goyaz, Bartholomão Bueno; they deserted in 1725, displaced the Chavánte, and settled in the high mountains between Maranhão, Santa Theresa, and Amaro Leite on the left bank of the Tocantins above Porto Real. They were supposed to be only 300 warriors strong, but were feared because of their brutality (Rev.

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1. (cont.)
trim., Vol. 37, pp. 370-379; Vol. 38, pp. 19 and 83). Castelnau mentions them often and localizes their territory more exactly (Vol. 2, p. 116). Dr. Couto de Magalhães (Viagem ao Araguaya) repeats the statements of Cunha Mattos and also gives a brief description and a vocabulary of their language.

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[10] but also roam on Bananal Island from the mouth of the Rio das Mortes to the southern tip. All the columns of smoke sighted in this region on Bananal are attributed to them. According to an isolated statement, they are also supposed to occupy a village inland from Furo das Pedras, which is at constant war with the neighboring Šavajé. They are supposed to have a darker skin-color than the Karajá. Their hair is worn in the bowl-cut. The men wear beards and large wooden disks; according to another statement, wide lip-plugs of shell in the lower lip; the ears are pierced and hang far down. They are a true campo people who have no boats. Nor do they know how to fish. In the autumn they come to the Araguaya to hunt for turtle eggs on the sand-banks. In connection with this they probably meet Karajá, by whom they are greatly feared on account of their dangerous arrows. They are regarded as the strongest (most warlike) people on the Araguaya and now play the same role there that the Chavánte did at the end of the eighteenth century.

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The peoples of the Xingu region were completely unknown to the Karajá. When I showed them Steinen's pictures, they debated for a long time about the strange style of dress (unclothed men with the penis hanging far down, uluri of the women), as well as about all kinds of implements. Obviously they were seeing such things for the first time. Language samples, too, which I read to them, were foreign to them; only in the case of the Suyá words did they listen attentively and seem to find related sounds. Only one chief, Chico Cadete in Village 18, directly below the Tapirapé mouth, pretended to know the Suyá with their large

offer them a refuge in case of northern Kaiapó advances or attacks. It might also preclude the entry of adventurers into the lands to the south and west, which are assumed to be inhabited by the Akuẽ-Chavante and by the Tupi tribe of the Ampaneẽ (in this respect, cf. my works, "Uma ponte etnográfica entre o Xingu e o Araguaia, [An ethnographic bridge between the Xingu and the Araguaia]," Revista do Arquivo Municipal, Vol. 43, São Paulo, 1938, and "Os Tapirapé, tribo tupi no Brasil Central [The Tapirapé, a Tupi tribe of Central Brazil]," ibid., Vol. 100, São Paulo, 1945).

[144] Since the Tapirapé are traditionally forest Indians, we must consider the possibility of establishing the new post in the vicinity of the recently burned village, that is, at the edge of the great forest. I regard this possibility as extremely slight owing to the difficulties of communication during the yearly floods that cover the savanna and the forest ground.

Another possible way of protecting the Tapirapé would be to gather them into a post to be established on Bananal Island. The advantage here would be their localization in a Federal territory intended exclusively as a reservation for the local Indians and more easily accessible than the upper Tapirapé River. On the other hand, this very accessibility might make it difficult to preserve the tribe as an ethnic entity. In addition, the following factors must be considered: although some Tapirapé groups, according to certain sources, lived for a while on Bananal Island more than 100 years ago, everything indicates that the bulk of the tribe has lived in its present habitat since the eighteenth century (cf. my study of this question in the Revista do Arquivo Municipal, Vol. 98, São Paulo, 1944), and the Tapirapé, therefore, are physically and culturally adapted to this environment and capable of preserving their culture within it. It should be added that in this case, also, the contact between the inhabitants of Tampiitíua and Txitxutíua would be retained, and with it the possibility of marrying outside the village or moving from one village to the other as a result of disappointments, political factors, etc. (1).

1. In a report on his visit to the Tapirapé that took place in September, 1948, Mr. Harald Schultz tells me that "none of the Tapirapé like the idea of being transferred to a spot near

7: Baldus--4 E-5 (1935) 1940 SP22 Tapirapé SP22

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7: Baldus--5 E-5 (1935) 1940 SP22 Tapirapé SP22

113 Vocabulário na Língua Brasílica; manuscrito português-Tupí do século XVII [Words in the Aboriginal Brazilian Language; a Portuguese-Tupi manuscript of the 17th century], edited by Plínio Ayrosa. Volume 20 in the collection of the Departamento de Cultura, São Paulo, 1938.

8: Baldus E-5 (1935, 1947) 1956 SP22 Tapirapé SP22

in the open against a rampart of fire or lances, recoils terrified in view of the suspicion of a tenuous and invisible enemy." In fact, the Tapirapé who opposes the jaguar with only bow and club as I had occasion to observe, and who is not afraid of dying, as they frequently assured me, is terrified by the presence of the souls of the dead and of other bad beings. It is not only the soul of a dead shaman which causes fear. I knew a kind father who became afraid of the soul of his beloved little child when this was deceased. And whoever is not a shaman feels a dread of dreaming while asleep, because during the dream he has to travel through the dangerous supernatural world. And not infrequently boys who wanted to drink water at night in the nearby brook asked me to go with them, because a ghost had been seen taking a bath. Unfortunately, whenever I arrived, the well-scrubbed ghost had already gone away. Frequently the boys sang loudly when going to the brook at night in order to calm their fear as I have observed in Europe when children went for something in a dark cellar.

Although the Tapirapé didn't react in any way against the fear produced by the eclipse, they were not always so passive as regards the fear caused by the white men, the Kayapó, and the spirits. When my English companion fell ill, they didn't hesitate in demanding his departure, and when a little girl of the house where I was living fell sick, all the people around me wore a threatening air as if I had been the magic author of the disease. The fear inspired by the Kayapó was combated not only by the Tapirapé hobbling clubs during the nocturnal collective dances, but also by their parodying their neighbours by a pantomime which represented a supposed attack against peaceful tribesmen. The fear of the spirits gives not only great prestige to the shaman, official protector against them, but also puts in the hand of every Tapirapé a torch which he agitates without interruption if by night he has to go out of the house in order to relieve himself.

So far the frightened Tapirapé also, life is struggle, action and reaction, fear and wrath. And this fearful people is the gayest I ever found in my life, and Kamairabú, the pessimist who more than anyone declared himself to be afraid, had a glad smile on his face everytime when I saw him awake in the morning.

São Paulo, Brazil.

Notes

1. Cf. Herbert Baldus: *Ensaios de Etnologia Brasileira*. S. Paulo, 1937, pp. 156–158.
2. Ashley Montagu: *The Natural Superiority of Women*. London, 1954, p. 92.
3. Emilio Mira y López: *Quatro gigantes da alma*. 3a. edição, Rio de Janeiro, 1955, pp. 39–40.
4. Cf. Herbert Baldus: Os Tapirapé. *Revista do Arquivo Municipal*, 110: 181, 1946. S. Paulo.
5. Cf. Amilcar A. Botelho de Magalhães: *Folclore médico do Brasil*, 2a. edição, S. Paulo, 1941, pp. 497–498; Martin Gusinde: *Die Feuerlandindianer, I: Die Selk'nam*, Modling bei Wien, 1931, pp. 456–458.
6. Cf. Baldus: *Ensaios de Etnologia Brasileira*, p. 86.
7. Xamanismo tapirapé (Tapirapé Shamanism), *Boletim do Museu Nacional*, n.s., Antropologia, 3: 79, 1943. Rio de Janeiro.
8. *Ibid.*
9. Op. cit., p. 39.

10: Wagley E-5 (1939-1940)1951 SP22 Tapirapé SP22
Tenetehara 506

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classes, to mention only two examples, had social systems comparable to that of the Tapirapé. Such social structures depended upon a balanced representation of population in each of the numerous social units. A sudden decline of population might easily throw such highly segmented societies out of balance, so to speak. Without sufficient representation in one or more of these social units reciprocal socio-ceremonial affairs become impossible or may be carried out in a highly attenuated manner. Again, the social structure of the Karajá of the Araguaya River is based essentially upon extended family and kinship ties and lacks the highly segmented social units which cross cut villages and even family groups. Like that of the Tenetehara, Karajá social structure would seem to be less vulnerable to change in population size and more conducive to population growth. In addition to technological equipment and subsistence methods, social structure and cultural values also influence strongly the final adjustment of each society to its environment. Differences in social structure and of value systems between societies must be taken into account in studies of population size and of population trends in any natural area, such as the Tropical forest of South America.

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RESUMO

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O autor compara a reação dos Tenetehara e Tapirapé ao contacto com os brancos no que diz respeito ao decrescimento da população e à organização social. Enquanto a primeira dessas tribos lavradoras das selvas tropicais do Brasil, depois de mais de trezentos anos de tal contacto, conta um número de componentes provàvelmente pouco inferior ao de antes, conservando em função sua organização social, os Tapirapé se encontram em via de extinção física e desintegração social. O autor acha que, por um lado, a tecnologia dessas tribos e seus métodos de aquisição de sustento devem ter limitado o número de habitantes de cada aldeia, não tendo havido, por outro lado, falta de espaço territorial para limitar o número das aldeias. Parece-lhe que, antigamente, a população tapirapé era relativamente pequena e estável, ao passo que a dos Tenetehara era, pelo menos, a dobra daquela e, provàvelmente, expansiva. Estes últimos, em geral, não procuram restringir o tamanho da família e o modo dos Tapirapé entre os quais a mulher não deve ter mais de três filhos. Embora os Tapirapé justifiquem esta limitação com falta de alimentos, mais decisivos a respeito parecem ser certos fatores culturais. O autor procura mostrar a influência das instituições e valores culturais sôbre o tamanho das populações dentro dos limites postos pelos fatores alimentares, pelo conhecimento médico, pelo equipamento civilizador e por outros fatores materiais. Frisa que a estrutura social e os valores culturais de cada sociedade são funcionalmente relacionados com determinado tamanho de população, precisando ser reajustados, por isso, em caso de mudança da situação demográfica.

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12: Wagley & Galvão E-5 (1939-1940)1948
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755 [276] rubbing toward the extremities of his body. If he fails to extract the malignant object in this fashion, he sucks it out, swallows it, then vomits it up.

At one time, during an epidemic of fever, a shaman used a different method. He prepared a mixture of honey and water, and, after much smoking, spewed it out over the patients and on the houses where there were sick people.

756 [751] [189] Besides healing, the shamans must protect the people against dangerous spirits (anĉunga); they call forth "children's spirits" without which there can be no conception; they prevent wild animals from harming the *Tapirapé* during great hunting or fishing expeditions; and they increase the [187] number of peccaries in the woods. It is also believed that they divine the future in their dreams.

The prestige of shamans is such among the *Tapirapé* that almost all leaders of communities as well as of ceremonial moiety groups and household heads are shamans. As shamans receive payment for successful cures, they accumulate many possessions which they redistribute at a yearly ceremonial. Liberality is essential to prestige in this society where avarice is particularly despised.

MYTHOLOGY

773 [171] *Tapirapé* myths fall into two categories: legends telling of the deeds of ancestral heroes, and tales of animals. In the latter, the tortoise (*Testudo tabulata*) is noted for his shrewdness in his dealings with the other animals of the jungle. These stories follow the general *Tupí* pattern.

Among the various *Tapirapé* heroes are Apêwenonu and Petura. The former descended from heaven and lived with the *Tapirapé*. He taught them to plant and harvest cotton, manioc, and maize. When he was old, Apêwenonu returned to heaven and changed himself into a star.

Petura stole fire from the buzzards and brought light to the *Tapirapé*, who until then had not seen day. It is also told of Petura that he stole hatchets and knives from the emu and gave them to the *Tapirapé*.

Txuwanamũ is famous for a series of songs which tell of his adventures among the mythical ampĩawa, enemies of the *Tapirapé*, who made him die a lingering death. Wanĉina, a great shaman, had his whole house, including his family and belongings, transported to heaven by Karawana, the Thunder. Waré was another shaman who killed many dangerous forest spirits.

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